

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00  
NSC-05 ERDA-05 /069 W  
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R 261815Z MAY 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3853  
SECDEF WASHDC  
INFO CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 04157

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MNUC, NPG, NATO  
SUBJECT: NPG: AMBASSADOR PAULS STATEMENT AT THE MAY 23  
NPG PERMREP MEETING

THERE FOLLOWS BELOW THE COMPLETE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR PAULS'  
STATEMENT ON THE NEW TECHNOLOGY STUDY MADE AT THE MAY 23  
NPG PERMREP MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE REPORT BEFORE US, AND IN PARTICULAR THE FINDINGS  
OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS TEAM AS SECOND PART OF  
THE TECHNOLOGY STUDY, RIGHTLY POINTS OUT THE IMPORTANCE  
OF THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY.  
IT SEEMS ADVISABLE, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE OF THIS IMPORTANCE,  
TO GIVE A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE STATEMENT OF THE PIT TO  
ROUND OFF THE NECESSARILY VERY CONCISE PRESENTATION OF  
CRUCIAL POLITICAL STATEMENTS IN THE REPORT OF THE  
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

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2. ONE OF THE MOST ESSENTIAL STATEMENTS OF THE STUDY  
CONFIRMS THE CONTINUED VALIDITY OF THE NATO STRATEGY  
LAID DOWN IN MC 14/3. THIS MEANS THAT

- NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE PRIMARILY POLITICAL WEAPONS WHOSE  
EMPLOYMENT AIMS AT THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE ENEMY; ANY

INITIAL EMPLOYMENT IMPLIES AN IMPORTANT QUALITATIVE CHANGE OF WARFARE WITH FAR-RANGING POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONSEQUENCES;

- THE CONCEPT OF FORWARD DEFENCE HAS GAINED IN IMPORTANCE.

3. THE POSSIBLE AND PARTLY IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENTS OF THE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL COMPONENTS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASING THE DETERRENCE AS A WHOLE;

THE COMPOSITE STRUCTURE OF THE TRIAD CONTINUES TO BE VITAL. THE IMPROVEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS PROVIDES THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE FLEXIBLE EMPLOYMENT WITH MORE CREDIBLE OPTIONS; A HIGHER EFFECT OF DETERRENCE CAN POSSIBLY BE EXPECTED, ESPECIALLY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS WITH WIDER RANGES.

IN SPITE OF ALL THE ADVANTAGES OF THE NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGIES, THE POSSIBILITY OF ENFORCING A MILITARY DECISION IN FAVOUR OF NATO ON THE BATTLEFIELD BY INTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS APPEARS TO BE ILLUSORY. THIS APPLIES IN PARTICULAR IN VIEW OF THE WARSAW PACT'S GROWN CAPABILITY OF NUCLEAR RESPONSE IN THIS AREA. CONSEQUENTLY, NUCLEAR BATTLEFIELD WEAPONS - EVEN IF THEIR QUALITY IS IMPROVED - ARE NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR INSUFFICIENT CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

THEATRE NUCLEAR FORCES AS A WHOLE ARE NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES; THIS APPLIES VICE VERSA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IMPROVED CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS CAN NOT REPLACE NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER THE ASPECT OF DETERRENCE. IMPROVED CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY CAN RAISE THE THRESHOLD

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OF CONFLICT AND CONSEQUENTLY SERVES THE PURPOSE OF DETERRENCE. THIS MAY MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO WIN TIME AND PROVIDE MORE FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR THE POLITICAL DECISION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONSULTATION PROCESS. A PREREQUISITE FOR THIS IS A MORE EFFECTIVE AND SMOOTHLY FUNCTIONING CONSULTATION PROCEDURE.

4. IN VIEW OF THE CONSTANT EFFORTS OF THE WARSAW PACT TO MODERNIZE ITS FORCES AND TO MAINTAIN EXISTING QUANTITIES, IF POSSIBLE, NATO HAS NO OTHER OPTION: IN SPITE OF ITS TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE IN SOME FIELDS IT HAS TO PURSUE AND UTILIZE NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGIES. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT AN UNBALANCED RATIO OF QUANTITY SHOULD BE COMPENSATED BY QUALITY ONLY. THE KEY QUESTIONS OF THE UTILIZATION OF NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGIES ARISING IN THIS CONNECTION, LIKE THE PROBLEMS OF THE NECESSARY QUANTITIES AND OF COST EFFECTIVENESS, LEAD TO THE PROPOSAL FOR THE COOPERATIVE UTILIZATION OF THESE TECHNOLOGIES BY THE NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES.

THE STUDY UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATIVE UTILIZATION AS OBVIOUS EVIDENCE OF NATO'S SOLIDARITY AND UNITY. THESE STATEMENTS ARE IN LINE WITH OTHER CONSIDERATIONS IN THE ALLIANCE TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY UTILIZATION BY MORE ADEQUATE AND LONG-TERM COMMON PLANNING.

5. A FURTHER IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR INCREASED COORDINATION ARISES IN THE ALLIANCE FROM THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGIES, QUESTIONS OF DEFENCE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 NATO 04157

CAPABILITY AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS WHICH REQUIRES PERMANENT COORDINATION BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF THE ALLIES.

6. THE STATEMENTS OF THE PIT REPORT SURELY EXCEED THE FIELD OF COMPETENCE OF THE NPG AND ARE, OF NECESSITY, OF A MORE GENERAL NATURE. DUE TO THE LIMITED INFORMATION AVAILABLE IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO DEAL CONCLUSIVELY WITH EVERYTHING. WE NEVERTHELESS ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THESE STATEMENTS PREPARED IN A COMMON EFFORT, ESPECIALLY DURING THE PRESENT DISCUSSION IN THE ALLIANCE ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE DEFENCE CAPABILITY. THEY ARE OF GENERAL INTEREST AND WE THEREFORE SUPPORT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR THEIR WIDE DISTRIBUTION IN THE REPORT OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES.

7. THE FOLLOW-UP WORK PROPOSED IN THE TECHNOLOGY STUDY IS IMPORTANT AND DESIRABLE. THE LIMITED STUDY CAPACITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND OF THE NATIONS REQUIRES A SENSE FOR THE RIGHT PROPORTION. WE SHOULD NOT COMMISSION CONFIDENTIAL

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ANY STUDIES BEFORE A PRECEDING ANALYSIS HAS SHOWN THAT THERE IS NO DUPLICATION OF EFFORT, THAT THEY ARE FEASIBLE, AND THAT THE INITIAL DATA CAN PROVIDE A USABLE RESULT WHICH CAN BE TRANSLATED INTO A CONCRETE FORM. WE THEREFORE SUPPORT ESPECIALLY THE TAKING UP OF PROJECTS ALREADY UNDER WAY IN NATO.

8. IT IS TO BE EXPECTED WITH HIGH PROBABILITY THAT A MAJOR PART OF THE PROPOSED STUDIES WILL FORM PART OF THE WORK WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE CARRIED OUT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE AND THE PROPOSALS TO THE NATO PLANNING PROCESS. IN ORDER TO AVOID DUPLICATION OF EFFORT, NO MANDATES FOR FOLLOW-UP STUDIES SHOULD BE FORMULATED NOW ALSO FOR THIS REASON. RATHER, THE CONCRETIZATION OF THE WORK JUST MENTIONED UNDER THE DPC SHOULD BE AWAITED.

9. THE EVALUATION OF THE NUCLEAR ASPECT OF THE UTILIZATION OF NWT SHOULD REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF THE NPG.

END TEXT. BENNETT

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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